

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 4409

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT: ATLANTIC RELATIONS: SEPTEMBER 19 COUNCIL DISCUSSION

REF: USNATO 4380

SUMMARY: MOST ALLIED PERMREPS AT SEPTEMBER 19 COUNCIL MEETING COMMENTED FAVORABLY ON CANADIAN "DECLARATION ON TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONS" (REFTEL). MOST SUGGESTED THAT IT BE USED AS THE BASIS FOR AN ALLIANCE DECLARATION THAT MIGHT BE ISSUED IN CONNECTION WITH PRESIDENT NIXON'S PROPOSED VISIT TO NATO THIS FALL. LUNS AND OTHERS URGED THAT DRAFTING BEGIN URGENTLY, IN LIGHT OF THE RECENT EC MEETING IN COPENHAGEN. FRENCH REP WELCOMED CANADIAN CONTRIBUTION BUT CAUTIONED AGAINST PREMATURE DRAFTING OF A DECLARATION SINCE ALLIED FONMINS WOULD BE DISCUSSING SUBJECT IN NEW YORK NEXT WEEK AND FURTHERMORE IT WAS NOT CLEAR WHEN PRESIDENT NIXON WOULD BE COMING. AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD SAID HE WOULD REFER THE CANADIAN DRAFT TO WASHINGTON AND WOULD HOPE THAT NAC DISCUSSION COULD BE PUT OFF UNTIL NEXT WEEK ON SUBJECT OF WHERE THE ALLIANCE SHOULD GO FROM HERE. THE COUNCIL PLANS FOR AN INSTRUCTED MEETING ON THE CANADIAN PAPER NEXT WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 26. ACTION REQUESTED: WE WOULD APPRECIATE CONFIDENTIAL

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INSTRUCTIONS FOR SEPTEMBER 26 NAC MEETING ON NEXT STEPS. IN OUR VIEW, THERE ARE FOUR OPTIONS WHICH WE MIGHT PURSUE:

A. WE COULD AGREE THAT THE COUNCIL, PERHAPS ASSISTED BY

THE SENIOR POLITICAL COMMITTEE, SHOULD BEGIN PREPARING AN ALLIANCE DRAFT DECLARATION ON THE BASIS OF VARIOUS NATIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED THUS FAR USING THE CANADIAN DRAFT AS THE BASIC OUTLINE.

B. WE COULD CIRCULATE AS ADDITIONS TO, OR MODIFICATIONS OF, THE CANADIAN TEXT, ACCEPTING IT AS A STARTING POINT FOR A NATO DECLARATION.

C. WE COULD ARRANGE FOR THE CIRCULATION OF A US DRAFT WHICH WE COULD PRESENT AS A BASIC TEXT OR AS AN ADDITIONAL NATIONAL CONTRIBUTION TO BE CONSIDERED TOGETHER WITH THE OTHERS.

D. WE COULD CONTINUE TO CALL UPON THE SPC TO FURTHER DEVELOP ITS "CHECKLIST" OF IDEAS, PERHAPS DRAWING UP A SYNOPSIS COMPARISON OF THE TEXTS CIRCULATED THUS FAR. (THIS WOULD, OF COURSE, BE SEEN AS A DELIBERATE STALLING TACTIC.)

IN VIEW OF THE DESIRE OF MOST ALLIES TO BEGIN DRAFTING WITHOUT FURTHER DELAY, ANY DELAYING TACTIC BY U.S. COULD SHIFT BURDEN TO U.S. THE UNINSTRUCTED POSITIVE RESPONSE TO THE CANADIAN DRAFT MAKES IT A LIKELY STARTING POINT, ALTHOUGH IT CLEARLY FALLS SHORT OF U.S. GOALS IN SOME RESPECTS. THE FACT THAT IT IS LARGELY BASED ON ASYG KASTL'S "COMPENDIUM OF IDEAS" (USNATO 4152), WHICH REFLECTS THE VIEWS WHICH THE ALLIES PUT FORWARD IN SPC MEETINGS DURING THE SUMMER, WILL STRENGTHEN THE CASE FOR FRENCH PARTICIPATION SINCE FRANCE HAD AMPLE OPPORTUNITY TO CONTRIBUTE ITS OWN IDEAS. IF WASHINGTON AGREES TO BEGIN DRAFTING IN NATO, THE MISSION WOULD APPRECIATE EARLY INSTRUCTIONS ON TEXT OR ELEMENTS WHICH US WOULD WISH TO PROPOSE. THIS WILL ENABLE US TO INFLUENCE THE DEVELOPMENT OF A DECLARATION AT THE OUTSET AND AVOID THE DIFFICULTIES INHERENT IN TRYING TO INTRODUCE MAJOR SUBSTANTIVE CHANGE INTO WHAT COULD EVOLVE INTO AN ALLIANCE TEXT, AT THE LAST MINUTE.

END SUMMARY.

1. COUNCIL ON SEPTEMBER 19 HAD A PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION OF THE CONFIDENTIAL

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CANADIAN DRAFT DECLARATION. PERMREPS WERE WITHOUT INSTRUCTIONS ON THE CANADIAN TEXT, BUT MOST GAVE PERSONAL REACTIONS. AT SYG LUNS' SUGGESTION, THE COUNCIL PLANS AN INSTRUCTED DISCUSSION ON THE CANADIAN TEXT AND ON PROCEDURES FOR DRAFTING AT ITS SEPTEMBER 26 MEETING.

2. CANADA. MENZIES CHARACTERIZED THE CANADIAN PAPER AS A "WORKING DRAFT" WHICH BUILT UPON THE EARLIER CANADIAN "CHECKLIST." HE EMPHASIZED THAT THE DRAFT HAD BEEN PREPARED IN THE CANADIAN DELEGATION WITHOUT REFERENCE TO OTTAWA, WITH A VIEW TO ASCERTAINING INFORMALLY WHETHER THE ALLIES WOULD FIND THIS A USEFUL BASIS FOR CARRYING FORWARD THE EFFORT TO DEVELOP AN ALLIANCE DECLARATION. THE IDEAS IN THE CANADIAN DRAFT WERE NOT NEW; THEY

WERE BORROWED LIBERALLY FROM PREVIOUS NATIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS. THE TEXT ATTEMPTED TO USE SIMPLE LANGUAGE AND TO LIST THE VARIOUS POINTS IN READILY SEPARABLE FORM. MENZIES HOPED THAT NATO WOULD BEGIN PREPARING A DECLARATION, NOW THAT THE EC-9 HAD MADE PROGRESS IN COPENHAGEN. (COMMENT: MENZIES DID NOT REITERATE HIS DELEGATION'S PREVIOUS INTEREST IN A "CHAPEAU" (USNATO 3998). JUDGING FROM SCOPE OF CANADIAN DRAFT, MENZIES' GAMBIT MAY BE TO HAVE AN ALLIANCE DECLARATION WHICH IS SO ALL-ENCOMPASSING THAT A "CHAPEAU" WILL NOT BE NECESSARY. END COMMENT)

3. FRG. KRAPF FOUND CANADIAN DRAFT ADMIRABLE AND WELL-WRITTEN. ITS CLARITY WOULD MAKE A FAVORABLE IMPRESSION ON PUBLIC OPINION, AS WOULD ITS USEFUL DIVISION INTO THREE MAIN ELEMENTS: CONTINUITY WITH THE PAST; DIRECTIONS FOR THE FUTURE; AND THE PLACE OF THE ALLIANCE IN THE SURROUNDING WORLD.

4. ON A PERSONAL BASIS, KRAPF MADE A NUMBER OF SPECIFIC COMMENTS ON THE CANADIAN TEXT. HE THOUGHT THAT THE INTRODUCTION SHOULD PLACE STRONG EMPHASIS ON ALLIANCE PARTNERSHIP. PARA 3 SHOULD STRESS NATO'S ROLE IN PRESERVING PEACE. PARA 4 (A) SHOULD EXPLAIN IN GREATER DETAIL THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND ITS RELATION TO THE SURROUNDING WORLD. PARA 6 (II) SHOULD EXPRESS MORE CLEARLY THE FACT THAT THE ALLIES WERE MAINTAINING THEIR DEFENSES ONLY IN REACTION TO THE DEFENSE BUILDUP BY THE OTHER SIDE. FINALLY, KRAPF BELIEVED THAT PARA 6 (III) WOULD BE THE APPROPRIATE POINT FOR THE U.S. TO RENEW ITS DEFENSE COMMITMENT TO THE ALLIANCE, AS DR. KISSINGER HAD SUGGESTED IN SAN CLEMENTE DURING HIS MEETING WITH THE PERMREPS.
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5. ITALY. CATALANO HAD NO INSTRUCTIONS ON THE CANADIAN DRAFT, BUT ON A PERSONAL BASIS MADE A NUMBER OF POINTS CROSS-REFERENCING EARLIER NATIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS. HE PREFERRED THE UK FORMULATION (USNATO 3787) ON DEFENSE, WHICH PLACED STRONG EMPHASIS ON THE DANGERS IN ANY UNILATERAL REDUCTION OF THE ALLIES' FORCES AND ON THE NEED TO MAINTAIN AND DEVELOP ALLIANCE DEFENSE CAPABILITIES. HE PREFERRED THE FRG TEXT (USNATO 3866) ON THE INDIVISIBILITY OF SECURITY AND DEFENSE AND ON THE NEED FOR EACH ALLY TO FULFILL HIS COMMITMENTS UNDER THE NATO TREATY. CATALANO ALSO PREFERRED THE UK FORMULATION ON ECONOMIC COOPERATION. (COMMENT: CANADIAN FORMULATION ON THIS KEY POINT IS AS FOLLOWS: "IN PARTICULAR THEY RECOGNIZE THAT IN THE FORMULATION OF THEIR MONETARY, TRADE AND ECONOMIC POLICIES THEY HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO CONSIDER THE IMPLICATIONS OF SUCH POLICIES FOR THEIR PARTNERS AND TO SEEK WAYS OF PREVENTING HARMFUL EFFECTS." UK FORMULATION: "TO THIS END THEY WILL CONTINUE, WITHOUT DETRIMENT TO THEIR INDIVIDUAL OBLIGATIONS OR COMMON PURPOSES, TO SEEK TO ELIMINATE CONFLICT IN THEIR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC POLICIES AND WILL ENCOURAGE ECONOMIC COLLABORATION BETWEEN ANY OR ALL OF THEM." END COMMENT) HE ALSO SHARED KRAPF'S HOPE THAT THE DECLARATION WOULD CONTAIN A FIRM CONFIDENTIAL

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U.S. COMMITMENT TO MAINTAIN ITS FORCES IN EUROPE, SINCE THERE APPEARED NO PRESENT LIKELIHOOD THAT THEY COULD BE REPLACED BY EUROPEAN FORCES.

6. BELGIUM. DE STAERCKE ECHOED FAVORABLE COMMENTS BY KRAPF AND CATALANO ON CANADIAN DRAFT AND BELIEVED IT COULD BE USED AS A STARTING POINT FOR DRAFTING. HE SAW THE EFFORT AS PARALLELING EC WORK, AND THOUGH THAT THE U.S. SHOULD BE ABLE TO REVIEW BOTH EFFORTS SIDE-BY-SIDE. COMMENTING SPECIFICALLY ON THE CANADIAN DRAFT, DE STAERCKE NOTED THAT IT DID NOT CONTAIN A STRONG REAFFIRMATION OF THE NEED FOR CONSULTATIONS AMONG FRIENDS. THE DECLARATION SHOULD INDICATE CLEARLY THE ESSENTIAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN RELATIONS AMONG FRIENDS AND RELATIONS TOWARDS ADVERSARIES. DE STAERCKE ALSO WANTED THE WORD "SOLIDARITY" TO APPEAR IN THE TEXT. SOLIDARITY IS NOT A PROBLEM IN THE WARSAW PACT, BUT IT IS AN INTERESTING PROBLEM FOR AN ALLIANCE OF FREE NATIONS. ALLIANCE WORK ON A DRAFT DECLARATION SHOULD BEGIN SOON, SINCE THERE WAS NOT MUCH TIME LEFT.

7. GREECE. CHOROFAS ALSO LIKED CANADIAN DRAFT. IN THE LIST OF "STABLE ELEMENTS" HE HOPED THAT SOMETHING COULD BE SAID ABOUT AVOIDING ANTAGONISM BETWEEN THE ALLIES. HE ALSO THOUGHT THAT JAPAN MIGHT BE MENTIONED IN THE "CHANGING ELEMENTS" SECTION.

8. NORWAY. BUSCH AGREED WITH DE STAERCKE THAT THE CANADIAN TEXT COULD SERVE AS THE BASIS FOR DRAFTING ALLIANCE DECLARATION.

IN OSLO'S VIEW THE DECLARATION SHOULD CONCENTRATE NOT ONLY ON DEFENSE AND SECURITY ISSUES, BUT IN A WIDER SENSE, ON POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC QUESTIONS. THE NORWEGIAN GOVERNMENT WANTS THE COUNCIL TO DISCUSS POLITICAL ASPECTS OF ATLANTIC ECONOMIC COOPERATION.

9. UK. PECK AGREED TO USE THE CANADIAN DRAFT AS A STARTING POINT, BUT WANTS TO ENSURE THAT OTHER NATIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS ARE TAKEN

FULLY INTO ACCOUNT. THE SENIOR POLITICAL COMMITTEE SHOULD PREPARE A COMPOSITE DRAFT FOR REVIEW BY THE COUNCIL.

10. NETHERLANDS. BUWALDA LIKED THE CANADIAN TEXT. WHILE THE EC/US DISCUSSIONS PROCEEDED, THE ALLIES IN NATO SHOULD WORK ON THE ALLIANCE DECLARATION. BUWALDA PARTICULARLY FAVORED CONFIDENTIAL

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THE SIMPLE AND DIRECT STYLE OF THE CANADIAN DRAFT. IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT THE PUBLIC NOT ONLY ACCEPT THE CONTINUANCE OF THE ALLIANCE, BUT THAT IT UNDERSTAND THE ALLIANCE. HE AGREED WITH THE THRUST OF THE CANADIAN SUGGESTION FOR HANDLING ECONOMIC AND MONETARY MATTERS IN AN ALLIANCE DECLARATION, BUT THOUGHT THESE PARAS SHOULD BE STRENGTHENED FURTHER, AS SHOULD BE THE LANGUAGE CONCERNING RELATIONS WITH THE THIRD WORLD. BUWALDA ALSO RECALLED DR. KISSINGER'S STATEMENT IN SAN CLEMENTE THAT THE DECLARATION SHOULD CONTAIN A PASSAGE ON THE U.S. DEFENSE COMMITMENT.

11. TURKEY. JOINING THE WARM RECEPTION GIVEN TO THE CANADIAN PAPER, ERALP SAID THAT TEXT SHOULD INCLUDE THE PRINCIPLE OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY, AS WELL AS THE PRINCIPLE OF THE INDIVISIBILITY OF THE ALLIANCE. HE WOULD WANT TO STRENGTHEN PARA 6 (VII) TO ENSURE THAT "COORDINATION IN APPROPRIATE FORA" APPLIED TO POLITICAL ISSUES AS WELL AS TO MONETARY, TRADE AND ECONOMIC POLICIES.

12. DENMARK. SVART WELCOMED CANADIAN DRAFT AND URGED THAT NATO SPEED UP ITS WORK ON AN ALLIANCE DECLARATION.

13. LUXEMBOURG. FISCHBACH SAID THAT A DECLARATION, TO BE EFFECTIVE, WOULD HAVE TO PROVIDE A CLEAR-CUT JUSTIFICATION FOR THE ALLIANCE FOR THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE.

14. FRANCE. CARRAUD WELCOMED THE CANADIAN DRAFT IN THE SPIRIT OF DEVELOPING A CHECKLIST OF IDEAS. THE ALLIES COULD DELETE OR ADD ELEMENTS TO SUCH A CHECKLIST, BUT IT WAS TOO SOON TO DECIDE WHEN DRAFTING OF A DECLARATION SHOULD BEGIN. ALLIED MINISTERS WILL BE EXCHANGING VIEWS NEXT WEEK AT THE UN, AND NO ONE KNOWS AS YET WHEN PRESIDENT NIXON'S PROPOSED VISIT WILL TAKE PLACE. THE ALLIES SHOULD NOT MOVE TOO QUICKLY. THE COUNCIL SHOULD ASK THE SENIOR POLITICAL COMMITTEE TO CONTINUE TO STUDY THE PROBLEM.

15. U.S. RUMSFELD GAVE HIS PERSONAL VIEW THAT THE CANADIAN DRAFT IS ANOTHER USEFUL CONTRIBUTION, AND WASHINGTON WILL WANT TO CONSIDER IT CAREFULLY. THE TEXT SHOULD BE SENT BACK TO CAPITALS AND THE COUNCIL SHOULD PUT OFF UNTIL NEXT WEEK THE QUESTION OF WHERE THE ALLIANCE SHOULD GO FROM HERE ON A CONFIDENTIAL

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DECLARATION.

16. LUNS. SYG BELIEVED THAT IT WAS PREMATURE THIS WEEK TO WORK ON A DRAFT, BUT HOPED THAT PERMREPS WOULD HAVE INSTRUCTIONS NEXT WEEK WHICH WOULD PERMIT WORK TO BEGIN. HE GAVE NO INDICATION THAT HE WOULD CIRCULATE HIS OWN DRAFT, IN LIGHT OF NEW CANADIAN TEXT.
RUMSFELD

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